/117 cont./

342 761 783 [752] Anyone may build himself a house of whatever size he wishes on his own land in the mountains, as well as on the above-mentioned community land in the valley, but he must first ask the shaman acting for him whether any bones of the Pijao are in the ground on the piece of land in mind. As comes out in the myths, the Pijao in ancient times were the frightful and militarily cleverer enemies of the Paez. Their bones (ec ndyít Pijao) contain "pest." This pest is a very complex and significant concept among the Paez (cf. under "Religion" /see p. 191/), and the pest of the Pijao bones is capable of killing the people living above them. How very much our interpreter Victoriano, one of the most enlightened Paez, was affected by this fear came out when he worked with us in the archeological park in San Andrés. For lack of space he had to sleep in the tool room, where, however, he felt very comfortable and, with a camp bed and mattress, had built himself probably the best bed of his life. One day we opened a large prehistoric grave-chamber, which contained more than 80 bone-urns with the remains of cremations. Since we could not accommodate such a large number of urns in our living room, which at the same time served as our museum, we had to put a number of them in the tool room. I left the skeletal remains in several of them in order to save them for a later examination. Weeping, Victoriano begged me please not to put in his tool room any urns containing bones, because the bones might have come from the Pijao, who would surely kill him. Even the washed and cleaned urns, he assured us, contained very much "pest," so that at the next opportunity he wanted to go to Calderas and have himself "purified" by his home shaman. He failed to do this, and when after a few days he had a toothache, he traced this back to the action of the pest from the burial urns previously filled with bones.

[773] [028] 961 783 123

342 761 783 756 787 /118/ The shaman's testing of the ground proposed as the building site is not done by digging or sampling the ground; rather, the one who wishes to build goes to the house of the shaman in the evening with coca, tobacco, and brandy, tells him of his wish, and then both sit down on the ground next to each other

/146 cont./

726 [725] [771] [411] In order to defend their mountain country the Paez also used large rocks which they hurled down on the attackers from the heights. They, too, however, soon succeeded in obtaining iron and iron weapons. In their battles at the time of the Conquista they were already using swords and machetes.

411 726 773 628 411 191 The stone-sling plaited of agave fibers, whose manufacture is described below (see under "Plaiting" /see pp. 85-86 /), is of great importance mythologically in the battles with the "Pijao." For geographical reasons it is the typical weapon of the American mountain peoples from Tierra del Fuego to Canada, whereas the blowgun, for similar reasons, is the typical weapon chiefly of the Amazonas and Orinoco forest area. The simultaneous occurrence of blowgun and sling is found all the way from Mexico to Ecuador and in Bolivia (Friederici, 1911, pp. 71-73, Pl. 13).

411 [162] [157] [223] /147/ The blowgun of the Paez consists of a single barrel and is very simple in its construction. It is made only by men, but for bird-hunting is used almost solely by boys. To make it, one uses the thin, straight trunk of the fíza tree, the pith of which is burned out with a long iron tube about eight millimeters in diameter and heated red-hot. The length of the tube is two to three meters. No special mouthpiece is attached. As a sight a little piece of beeswax is pasted above the mouth of the blowgun. [224] The ball-shaped fruits of the smbák tree, which have exactly the right caliber when green, are used as shot. The range amounts [211] to about 20 meters. The accuracy of the shot is not great. Nevertheless, there are boys who have carved more than 20 notches above the blowhole of the tube as a record of the birds killed.

4. Crafts and Techniques

a) Treatment of Fibers

283 The fiber material used by the Paez for plaiting, weaving, nets, or ropes is primarily agave, cotton, or sheep wool. Agave and cotton are ancient American fiber plants whose homeland is probably Central America, while working with sheep wool has its tradition in the Peruvian Highlands, in working with llama or

/171 cont./

621 tribal organization. Even at the time of the Conquista the Paez
[622] did not form a common, cohesive community and were similarly independent from village to village and without a chief,
[628] just as today. Only in times of war did a few villages join together
[648] in a sort of loose federation, in order to be able to offer stronger resistance to the Spanish intruders. Afterwards, however, the
177 "alliance for convenience" dissolved. The political influence
361 of the Spaniards during the colonial period had the effect of
131 fixing the boundaries of the villages that had existed up to that time, each of which occupies the area of a valley basin, in order to create clear relationships with respect to the white landowners. The former arrangement of the villages was essentially the same, as one may see from the large number of old native names.

621 The control of the community at that time -- in keeping with
622 the character of the Paez -- was probably in a democratic village management, in a fashion similar to that of today. In times of war leadership was in the hands of men who were called caciques /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249 / by the Spaniards -- as was the case generally in their colonies. The Paez have also taken over this name as a rank designation for the heroes of their traditions. Actually, their own word "sāt" for the political leaders in their mythology corresponds more to a war leader with shamanistic abilities than to a regular hereditary chieftainship of a society organized by classes, such as we find among the tribes of the Cauca Valley or the sacred principalities of the Chibcha at the time of the Conquista.

621 The present-day composition of the village council (cabildo)
623 as the administrative head of each village varies in strength according to the size of the village. It seems to be the most nearly complete in Calderas. Its composition and its tasks show
[565] that it is the head of a democratic community. The village is
[626] not organized by classes or by occupations. The consciousness of the equality of all is so strong /172/ that outsiders who distinguish themselves from others through personal achievement or personal acquisition are brought down to the common level by
623 force or killed. The leader of the cabildo has the grand Spanish

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/290/

114 us nothing about the religion and mythology of the Paez. Nor
773 do systematic modern studies exist. Nor do those who have had the opportunity to be in contact with them and to describe their customs and ways of life tell us about their religion and mythology. Furthermore, there are those who state that the Paez have no mythology. José Pérez de Barradas collected the myth of Juan Tama. Gregorio Hernández de Alba refers to it, and the Lazarist missionary Fr. David González also collected it and has it in his unpublished work, Los Paeces /The Paez/, in quite elaborate and synthetical form, as does G. Burg. It is obvious that a large part of the myths and tales which I am presenting, not to say all of them, have suffered modifications in the avatar of time, as the institutions also changed. Since mythology is the rationalization of conflicts created by the culture itself, it is subject to the directives /291/ of that society and culture. Its roots are inevitably of a sociological and cultural nature.

773 Many of the myths collected have a marked similarity to
776 that of Juan Tama. The predominant central motifs refer to
538 sex and aggression. The personages in the myths are Thunder, Llíban, Juan Chiracol, Chaute, and Santo Tomás. Llíban is regarded as Thunder's son, but everyone maintains that he is Thunder himself; he was a cacique, and the natives state that many of their caciques took refuge in the turbulent waters of the river. The last two personages merge and in reality form a single being. It is to be noted that in some accounts the tricky personage presented is not Tomás, who is a saint, but Pedro Dimales, his brother.

186 There is no need to emphasize the role played by the Pijao
793 in these accounts. The recollection of this people inured to
● 628 war is still fresh in the memory of the Calderunos, the characteristics of the struggle sustained against them still manifest, the fear that the name Pijao awakened still alive. To the Calderun mentality they seem like monsters, like animals of uncommon size and power, who drew fire from their armpits.

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

/291 cont./

773 They are in fact legendary personages who go beyond the
[186 boundaries of legend to enter the territory of myth, not only
[628 by their symbolism, but in their dramatic force, their socio-
logical framework, and their cultural function.

The mythology gravitates around the behavior of the natives, their attitudes toward the whites, the organization of the cabildo, illnesses, and death. Of Juan Chiracol, a 23-year-old informant says: "He warns when the mob is coming, he no longer warns, so." And of Thunder, it is said that he almost killed a padre because he went to the montaña to get wood to board up the school. "Thunder was defending the
538 wood," they say. The tales were always told around the fire,
773 with men, women, and children present, who sometimes laughed, at other times kept silent, but always corroborated, corrected, elaborated, or confirmed. The storytellers sometimes put on a serious face, accompanied their tale with mimicry, and once in a while they would burst into mocking laughter, as if to signify that what they were saying was worthless and they did not believe it. I was soon able to ascertain
115 their sociological and cultural value. The myths and tales
773 were collected with the help of an interpreter, a mestizo from San Andrés, about 35 /292/ years old, tall, muscular, quiet in manner, intelligent, calculating, with great charm and a knowledge of Paez and the Spanish language; he was familiar with the customs of the Calderunos, esteemed by them, and
773 skilled in his questioning. We present below the myths and
128 tales collected, leaving the other aspects of the culture for presentation in a complete monograph.

1. Thunder

*539 The old people related that at one time the area was full of Pijao. Thunder lived in Sukafi. In view of the growing number of Pijao, he decided to kill them. He stood on a tall stone that is to be found there, threw his lariat /boleadora/

/182 cont./

423 461 [173] [628] [648] The work on the land is a daily exercise in co-operation. Ownership by an Indian is an unquestionable right, and its defense a categorical imperative. Lliban and Juan Chiracol fought the Pijao for the ownership of the land and to defend an inalienable right. Likewise, because the whites covet their land, they do not like to have them around /183/ and avoid receiving them under some pretext or other. Their security and [735] their happiness lie in the ownership of land. Poverty as they understand it, a shortage of food and livestock, is due solely to the laziness of those who suffer it.

857 868 Children grow up in continuous communion with the activities of their parents. While the girl helps her mother in household tasks and goes out with her to bring firewood from their respective clearings, the boys with their machete on their shoulder and their pouches of coca and mambe /lime/, exactly like their fathers, clean the clearings, build fences, weed their plantings, and when the maize ripens and the wheat grows tall, they spend the day defending them against the attacks of parrots, guaras, borugos, squirrels, and coatis. At an early age they are already doing the same tasks, but with the hope of building a house, marrying, raising children, and owning livestock, large quantities of coca, and sugar cane for their 342 chicha. In a way, the house is a necessary supplement to their pieces of land; furthermore, many are for the period of the clearings. The selection of a site for the house does not take into account either the beauty of the landscape or the levelness of the terrain, but rather the inaccessibility of both. Only when the house is to last for more than one generation will they attend to certain requisites: solidity, construction or privately owned land, and the selection of an adequate site by the medicine man (té éu). One fine day the owner selects a site: "This is a good place to build a house and to live," he [559] says. Then he takes there the medicine man, who during the [787] night "thinks about" whether the site is suitable or unsuitable; he chews coca and remedies, takes mouthfuls of aguardiente

— The people of
/356 cont./

43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
●628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/365 cont./

177 For our outline of acculturation, we understand by diffusion
[121] achieved cultural transmission, and by acculturation cultural trans-
[123] mission in process, terms expounded by Professor Melville J. Herskovits in his book, El Hombre y sus obras /Man and his Works/.

Within Páez culture there is widely diffused, to the point of constituting an integral part of the cultural body, the following economic elements of alien origin and, more concretely, of European origin:

[231] All of the domestic animals with the exception of the
[137] guinea pig, bananas, sugar cane (the variety known as "criolla"), wheat, barley, garlic, coffee, peaches, apples, and oranges, the agricultural implements, the hydraulic mills, sugar mills, the guadua bamboo, and some varieties of pasture grass, such as orejuela /Alchemilla pectinata/, kikuyu, and poa.

177 Throughout the pages of this work, we have emphasized in
361 particular the cultural developments in process, that is to say, the
563 phenomenon of acculturation. It is obvious that this phenomenon has appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, in those parcialidades where there have been created areas of settlement, within which a specific number of "white" families have settled. But the intensity of the acculturative phenomenon does not rest merely on this fact or on the number of families who live by the norms of Western culture. San Andrés, for example, had its settlement area established for all practical purposes in 1928 and now reckons with more than 20 "white" families, with its nearness to the settlement of Inzá, and, for nearly 15 years, with the Parque Arqueológico of Tierradentro, to some extent a tourist attraction, and yet the process of acculturation is minimal and cannot be compared with the intensity of the same phenomenon in Mosoco, where the settlement area /366/ was created in 1923 and where
177 nowadays there are not more than 12 families of "whites." In
[487] Mosoco there is another factor: the riding path that joins the
[490] municipio of Belalcázar with that of Silvia, a road that has existed since pre-conquest times. Mosoco has been and still
● [628] continues to be the mandatory stopping place. In addition, this parcialidad has had intensive contacts with the Guambiano group and the Páez group from the other side of the Cordillera, who are more acculturated.

7:Hernández de Alba E-84(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

756
787 the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a
775 layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows
784 the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed
[411] with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span-
[648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone
[632] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs,
[764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it
727 on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguez*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are,
[175] however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars
[648] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the
[764] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them
[114] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with
727 resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes
[314] (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.